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1971/12/06



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INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-08 EA-11 EUR-14 NEA-09 RSC-01 ACDA-19
GAC-01 E-11 ORM-03 SR-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-02
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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY NATO
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USDEL SALT VI

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 4797

SUBJ: PRC IN 26TH GA: THREE WEEKS DOWN & THREE TO GO

I. SUMMARY: REVIEW OF PRC DELEGATION'S STATEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES THROUGH DECEMBER 3 IN NEW YORK SHOWS CHINESE HAVE APPROACHED ISSUES CONSERVATIVELY, GENERALLY MAINTAINING OPTIONS WHILE CONTINUING TO SHAPE UP IDENTITY WITH THIRD

WORLD. ALTHOUGH ENERGETICALLY SEEKING EDUCATE SELVES AND GIVING IMPRESSION OF ACTIVITY, CHINESE FOR MOST PART HAVE AVVOIDED BOTH COMMITTEES AND COMMITMENTS. DURING FIRST THREE WEEKS OF PRESENCE, HOWEVER, IN AT LEAST TWO INSTANCES THEY HAVE FELT REACTION OF OTHERS TO THEIR INTERVENTIONS IN UN: MODIFYING PROCESS OF GIVE-AND-TAKE HAS BEGUN. IN REMAINING THREE WEEKS OF 26TH UNGA, CHINESE ARE FACED WITH NEED TO TAKE POSITIONS ON VARIETY OF ISSUES WHICH SHOULD PROVIDE USEFUL CLUES TO LONG-TERM

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IMPACT OF THEIR PRESENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. SINCE FULL PRC DELEGATION ARRIVED NOVEMBER 11, CHINESE HAVE MADE THIRTEEN PUBLIC STATEMENTS IN UN BODIES, PLUS MAKING AIRPORT ARRIVAL STATEMENT AND CIRCULATING TEXT OF EARLIER STATEMENT ON DISARMAMENT. PRC STATEMENTS (PREVIOUSLY REPORTED SEPTELS - NOTAL) HAVE BEEN PUT ON RECORD HERE ON FOLLOWING OCCASIONS:

(A) NOVEMBER 11: CHIAO KUAN-HUA ARRIVAL STATEMENT, INCLUDING REFERENCE TO FIVE PRINCIPLES AND TO FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLES OF CHINA AND US.

(B) NOVEMBER 15: INAUGURAL PLENARY ADDRESS, A COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT WHICH, HOWEVER, DID PULL PUNCHES ON ISSUES INVOLVING JAPAN AND SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS UNITED STATES.

(C) NOVEMBER 16: BRIEF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF WELCOME IN SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE INCLUDED MODEST ALLUSION TO CHINESE UNFAMILIARITY WITH UN PROCEDURES, A THEME REPEATED IN MEETINGS WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS AND WITH PRESS.

(D) NOVEMBER 16: EXPLANATION OF FAVORABLE PLENARY VOTE ON RHODESIAN CHROME RESOLUTION, WHICH CRITICISED THE UNITED STATES LEGISLATIVE MOVES. PRC EXPLICITLY RESERVED POSITION ON OTHER RESOLUTIONS REFERRED TO IN RESOLUTION VOTED UPON.

(E) NOVEMBER 16: RESPONSE TO WELCOME IN FIRST COMMITTEE, AGAIN STATING CHINESE NEED TO LEARN ABOUT WORKINGS OF UNITED NATIONS.

(F) NOVEMBER 19: INTERVENTION IN THIRD COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF NEW ZEALAND-DUTCH RESOLUTION ON PAKISTAN REFUGEES. IN ADDITION TO BLAMING EAST PAKISTAN PROBLEM WHOLLY ON INDIA (WITHOUT MENTIONING INDIA BY NAME), ALSO RESURRECTED QUESTION OF INDIAN SUPPORT FOR REBELLION AND SUBVERSION IN TIBET, RELATING TIBET REFUGEES TO EAST PAKISTANI REFUGEES.

(G) NOVEMBER 19: DISPUTE WITH SAUDI ARABIA REPRESENTATIVE BAROOODY DURING FIRST COMMITTEE DISARMAMENT DEBATE. PRC DELEGATE AN CHIH-YUAN, WHILE HIS SENIOR CH'EN CH'U TEMPORARILY ABSENT, MADE MISTAKE (WHICH MORE SEASONED DELEGATES WOULD HAVE AVOIDED) OF TANGLING WITH BAROOODY IN REPLY TO SAUDI ARABIAN CRITICISM OF PRC NUCLEAR TEST. EXCHANGE CONCLUDED ONLY WHEN CH'EN TOOK OVER FROM AN TO SOFTEN AN'S EARLIER DENOUNCEMENT OF BAROOODY'S CRITICISM.

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(H) NOVEMBER 22: STATEMENT DURING SECURITY COUNCIL SANCTION'S COMMITTEE'S DISCUSSION OF UNITED STATES LEGISLATION ON RHODESIAN CHROME. PRC COMMENTS, WHILE CRITICAL OF US BECAUSE OF APPARENT CONTRADICTION ON CHROME, WERE MILD, AND PRINCIPAL FUNCTION SEEMED TO BE TO RECORD PRC ON ANTI-COLONIAL SIDE.

(I) NOVEMBER 23: INAUGURAL STATEMENT IN SECURITY COUNCIL. ENDORSED SECURITY COUNCIL'S CHAPTER RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING PEACE AND OPPOSING AGGRESSION; DID NOT MENTION ROLE AS PERMANENT MEMBER, IDENTIFYING PRC WITH SMALLER AND AGGRIEVED COUNTRIES.

(J) NOVEMBER 24: PRC CIRCULATED, THROUGH UN CHANNELS, JULY 32TH RESPONSE TO USSR JUNE 15 PROPOSAL TO CONVENE FIVE-POWER NUCLEAR CONFERENCE.

(K) NOVEMBER 24: PLENARY STATEMENT OPPOSING SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. REITERATED PRC POSITIONS ON SOUTHEAST ASIA, PALESTINIAN AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS, IN ADDITION TO ADDRESSING DISARMAMENT ISSUES. CHIAO CONCLUDED STATEMENT WITH PROPOSAL THAT SOVIET DRAFT RESOLUTION ON WDC NOT BE PUT TO VOTE AT THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

(L) NOVEMBER 26: PLENARY STATEMENT, EXERCISING RIGHT OF REPLY TO MALKI'S RESPONSE TO CHIAO'S NOVEMBER 24TH STATEMENT ON WDC. IN THIS INSTANCE, CHIAO ATTACKED SOVIETS IN HIGHLY DRAMATIC AND PERSONALIZED MANNER AND INSERTED CRITICISM OF SOVIETS FOR ROLE IN INDIA. CHIAO ADVANCED PRC'S ANTI-WDC POSITION ONE STEP BY STATING CATEGORICALLY THAT PRC WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN ANY VOTE ON SOVIET RESOLUTION AND WOULD ASSUME NO OBLIGATION AS RESULT OF VOTE.

(M) NOVEMBER 30: BRIEF STATEMENT IN SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE DEBATE ON UNRWA. BLAMED PALESTINIAN PROBLEM ON ISRAEL AND UNITED STATES IN LANGUAGE DRAWN HEAVILY FROM NOVEMBER 15TH INAUGURAL STATEMENT.

(N) NOVEMBER 30: STATEMENT ON GUINEA IN SECURITY COUNCIL, OFFERING PRO-FORMA TOTAL SUPPORT FOR GUINEA AND CRITICISM OF IMPERIALISTS' EFFORTS TO STIFLE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

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INR-06 L-03 NSAE-02 NSC-10 P-23 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12
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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY NATO
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USDEL SALT VI

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SUBJ: PFC IN 26TH GA: THREE WEEKS DOWN & THREE TO GO

2. CHINESE ON AT LEAST TWO OF ABOVE-LISTED OCCASIONS HAVE TAKEN ACTIONS THAT THEY MAY WISH IN RETROSPECT THEY HAD NOT. DELEGATIONS' KNEE-JERK REACTION MILD PARODY CRITICISM IN FIRST COMMITTEE NOVEMBER 19 WOULD JUSTIFY MINOR REGRET. PARODY FIGURED ALSO IN THE MORE SERIOUS INSTANCE. CHINESE CANNOT HELP BUT HAVE BEEN SENSITIVE TO FACT THAT PARODY, FOLLOWING NOVEMBER 26 COMPLETION OF VITRIOLIC MALIK-CHIAO EXCHANGE, RECEIVES NOT USUALLY ACCREDITED APPLAUSE FOR HIS CHASTISEMENT OF BOTH DELEGATES FOR ABUSING UN FORUM FOR BIG-POWER AND IDEOLOGICAL ENDS. PRC WILLINGNESS TO SUBJECT THE GA TO THIS TYPE OF ATTACK, DIVERTING A DISARMAMENT PLENARY TO NARROW GREAT-POWER CONFLICT, APPARENTLY HAS HAD STRONG IMPACT ON SMALLER DELEGATIONS. DURING SUBSEQUENT DIS-

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ARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS IN CORRIDORS AND THROUGH OTHER CHANNELS, WE HAVE HAD INDISPUTABLE SIGNS THAT DELEGATIONS, AS DIRECT RESULT OF NOVEMBER 26 SPECTACLE, ARE HAVING SOME SECOND AND SOFTER THOUGHTS ABOUT PENALTIES UN MAY HAVE TO PAY FOR PRC PRESENCE. IMPLICATIONS FOR UN OF SIN-SOVIET STRUGGLE ARE SUBJECT OF SEPTEL. IN ADDITION THERE ARE SOME INDICATIONS PRC MAY "DESPITE"

NOVEMBER 26 PROMISE TO CONTRARY, END UP PARTICIPATING IN ACTION ON SOVIET OR SUBSTITUTE SMALL-POWER WDC PROPOSAL. THIS IS EXAMPLE OF UN PRESSURES REQUIRING PRC ADJUSTMENT.

3. DESPITE FREQUENT CHINESE PROTESTATIONS - BOTH IN FORMAL STATEMENTS AND IN CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESS AND WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS - THAT THEY ARE IN PERIOD OF LEARNING, PRC DELEGATION HAS LEFT UN WITH NO DOUBT THAT THE NEW BOYS HAVE ARRIVED AND PLAN TO MAKE THEIR PRESENCE FELT. THIS IMPRESSION HAS BEEN FORTIFIED BY COMPREHENSIVE INAUGURAL STATEMENT, REGULAR APPEARANCES IN PLENARY AND SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, DRAMATIC INTERVENTION IN THIRD COMMITTEE AND WDC EXCHANGE WITH SOVIETS, ALL OF WHICH HAVE BEEN COMBINED WITH VISIBILITY IN CORRIDORS, CALLS ON OTHER DELEGATIONS, ACCESSIBILITY TO PRESS AND TENTATIVE FIRST SOCIAL APPEARANCES.

4. NEVERTHELESS, CHINESE HAVE STILL NOT PARTICIPATED IN WORK OF SECOND (ECOSOC), FOURTH (TRUSTEESHIP), FIFTH (ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY) OR SIXTH (LEGAL) COMMITTEES, NOR HAVE CHINESE DELEGATES OR STAFF APPEARED IN THESE COMMITTEE ROOMS AS OBSERVERS (ALTHOUGH AT LEAST IN CASE OF FIFTH COMMITTEE, CHINESE HAVE APPARENTLY BEEN CONSULTING INFORMALLY WITH OTHER MEMBER-DELEGATES). OF THREE MEETINGS OF SANCTIONS COMMITTEE OF SECURITY COUNCIL THEY HAVE ONLY ATTENDED ONE, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE INFORMED POINTEDLY OF OTHERS. IN SECURITY COUNCIL ITSELF, HOWEVER, THEY HAVE BEEN PRESENT AT EVERY MEETING AND HAVE PARTICIPATED FULLY IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT. WITH EXCEPTION OF WDC AND INDIA-PAKISTAN, CHINESE APPEAR NOT TO HAVE BROKEN ANY NEW POLICY GROUND. THEY HAVE AVOIDED COMMITTING THEMSELVES

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ON VARIOUS DISARMAMENT ISSUES, ON QUESTION OF SYG
SUCCESSION, ON UN FINANCING, STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY, LAW OF THE SEA AND OTHERS.

ALTHOUGH THEY INSISTED ON ELECTION TO ECOSOC AND ASKED FOR
SEAT IN ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY
QUESTIONS (ACARO) (WHERE REPRESENTATIVES SIT IN "EXPERT"
CAPACITY), THEY HAVE INDICATED THAT, WITH DELEGATION'S SINGLE
FINANCIAL/ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERT ALREADY BEING PLACED ON ACARO,
THEY DO NOT WANT TO SERVE ON COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS THIS
YEAR. THEY HAVE NOT YET RESPONDED TO INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE
IN PEACEKEEPING COMMITTEE; THEY HAVE DECLINED PUT FORWARD
CANDIDATE FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION AND THEY ARE
HOLDING OFF ON MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE. THERE ARE 40%
OF UN UNITS WHERE THEY COULD BE INCLUDED IF THEY DESIRED.

5. CHINESE HAVE TIARELESSLY SOUGHT ADVICE OF SECRETARIAT
(IN CONTRAST TO SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD INTERNATIONAL
CIVIL SERVANTS) AND ADVICE OF OTHER DELGATIONS (SKIPPING
OUT OTHERS' ATTITUDES IN THE PROCESS) AND LISTENED
CAREFULLY TO EVERYONE. BUT THEY HAVE FOR MOST PART
RESERVED THEIR POSITIONS. EVEN IF THEY SO DESIRE,
HOWEVER, THEY ARE NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO GET
THROUGH 26TH GA WITHOUT TAKING POSITIONS ON SOME OF
REMAINING ITEMS. MIDEAST DEBATE, WHICH SCHEDULED
LAST THROUGH MOST OF NEXT WEEK, WILL BE DIFFICULT TO
STAY ALOOF FROM IN VIEW OF DEEP SOVIET INVOLVEMENT AND
OF IMPORTANCE TO ARABS. POSITION ON SPIDER MIDDLE
EAST QUESTIONS WILL BE MUCH MORE TRICKY THAN PROBLEM
PRESENTED BY UNRWA DEBATE WHICH THEY ENTERED WITHOUT
COST. CHINESE WILL HAVE TO TAKE POSITION SOON ON SUCCESSION
TO SYG OR FIND THEMSELVES, WITH OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS,
TARGET OF SMALL-COUNTRY CRITICISM FOR RELAY. TEST
BAN RESOLUTIONS WILL POSE SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR PRC. CHINESE
WILL BE CONFRONTED, PARTICULARLY AS MEMBERS OF THE ACARO,
WITH NEED TO SHOW THEIR HAND ON CRITICAL UN FINANCING
QUESTIONS. IF THE EAST PAKISTAN QUESTION COMES TO THE
SECURITY COUNCIL FOR ACTION, THE PRC WILL FIND IT MORE
DIFFICULT TO ARRIVE AT A SATISFACTORY POSITION THAN IT WAS
SIMPLY TO BLAST INDIAN POSITION AS THEY DID THIRD
COMMITTEE (SAHI) OF PAKISTAN SEEMS TO BE ON PARTICULARLY
CLOSE TERMS WITH PRC DELEGATION. CYPRUS ISSUE, ON WHICH
SYG RECOMMENDS GREATER SECURITY COUNCIL INVOLVEMENT, WILL

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ADD TO COMPLICATIONS OF UN PARTICIPATION.

6. AS THIRD WEEK'S ACTIVITY ENDS AND WITH EQUAL PERIOD REMAINING UNTIL CLOSE OF 26TH GA, CHINESE, HIGHLY SENSITIVE TO THEIR NEOPHYTE STATUS, HAVE MANAGED TO KEEP MOST BUT NOT ALL OPTIONS OPEN ALTHOUGH XDC DEBATE INDICATED THAT SINO-SOVIET ANTAGONISM WOULD BE IMPORTANT FACTOR. HOWEVER, PROCESS OF UN GIVE-AND-TAKE HAS BEGUN, AND WILL INTENSIFY DURING REMAINDER OF SESSION. CHINESE ARF GOING TO BE FEELING THE SQUEEZE PRODUCED BY PRACTICAL PARLIAMENTARY PRESSURES. THEY UNDOUBTEDLY, LIKE CURRENCE, WILL BE RELIEVED WHEN THE FINAL GAVEL GOES DOWN. GP-3.
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